THE

"HINDU MESSAGE"

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editors: K Sundararama Aiyar M.A., & T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B.A.

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision Of India.

ATRI'S ASHRAMA.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

Here slept the Asram where sage Atri saw
  Th' incarnate Lord who came from paradise
  To lead to him in love men's hearts and eyes,
The Endless Mercy and eternal Law
That lived on earth a life without a flaw
  To show how in this fleeting world of lies
  Strong Dharma saves us from sin's swift surprise
And magnet-like our souls doth Godward draw.

He felt the sweet fulfilment of his life
  And in a passion deep of love supreme
  He placed his all before God's lotus feet
And Anasuya pure, his perfect wife
  With rapture saw her true devotion's dream
Wear Sita's heavenly form her love to greet.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 9, JAN., 1919.

The National Congress.

If the recent session of this great and only national institution has proved a memorable and unprecedented success, it is due almost solely to the influence, patriotism, wisdom, and healthy common sense of its universally esteemed and honoured President,—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. A novel feature of this year's programme is the presence of 700 peasants and it was entirely due to the suggestion and efforts made by the Pandit himself. A great deal of nonsense has been spoken by the enemies of Indian progress regarding the so-called "*intelligentsia*" of India—the educated classes who want to monopolise the power in the state and the emoluments of office and who are engineering this movement with a view to their advancement and not for the purpose of promoting the public welfare. The presence of the 700 peasants and the Hindi addresses made to them by the worthy Pandit-President and others, which they followed with intelligent interest, is the Indian Nation's answer to our calumniators and detractors. A *second* point of importance is that, in spite of diversities of opinion and the existence of parties in the Congress, the present session has unquestionably demonstrated the fact that the Indian people as a whole insist upon substantial changes in the present system of government and that nothing short of full provincial autonomy will satisfy them. The so-called Moderates are not content to have the changes, and nothing but the changes, proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, but wish to go a great deal further. Of course, if the British Ministry and Parliament are so dead to the calls of justice as to refuse to fulfil their duty to God and man, we shall of course take what they offer, but we shall not stop our efforts on our people's behalf till their voice rises to Heaven in one trumpet-peal which will be irresistible and act like magic on the minds and emotions of the British democracy. Meanwhile, it is plain that the people's representatives have, now as ever, proclaimed to the world what they really want and what alone will satisfy them at present. To accept an instalment offered or to be offered when the British Ministry places its contemplated Bill of Indian reform before Parliament does not mean that the Indian people or their leaders are going to rest satisfied with it. So long as this is unquestionable, the worthy Pandit-President is certainly within his rights in stating that "notwithstanding differences in unimportant matters and notwithstanding all that we hear of divisions and parties, there is practical unanimity in the country about the most essential changes and improvements which are needed in the proposals of reform."

A *third* point of importance is the question which is ever cropping up regarding our fitness for self-government. On this point, too, the worthy and venerable Pandit-President spoke with a weight and distinctness which must be pronounced remarkable. If the principles of autonomy and self-determination are to be applied to Syria and Mesopotamia, said the Pandit, "we the descendants of Hindus

who ruled for four thousand years in this extensive empire and the descendants of Mussalmans who ruled here for several hundred years" should *not* have "to argue our capacity for even a limited measure of autonomy and self-rule." The truth is that we have for ever to maintain this never-ending, still-beginning, course of argument,—for the simple reason that none are so blind as those who will not see for the reason that their interest lies in blinding themselves to the manifest realities of the situation. For instance, Lord Sydenham, writing in the *Contemporary Review* for November 1918 says of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford :—"They show that they have very little conception of the part that caste plays in Indian life, and they strangely omit any reference to the extraordinary diversity of languages which equally demands serious heed." But caste in India is based not on self-assertion, but on self-denial, and so is a principle of unity, not of disunion and dissension. Our languages belong mainly to two groups, the Sanskritic in the North and the Dravidan in the South. The men who speak these languages in our towns and villages are all mingled together in the fulfilment of the business of life and find no difficulty whatever in carrying on their transactions. Those who want to know the truth regarding Indian caste and Indian languages have only to visit one of our cities or villages in order to convince themselves that neither form a source of quarrel or conflict The Indian civilisation is equally the work and the achievement of all castes and of men of all languages. All the Indian languages possess literatures which contain a common stock of ideas and have been of help in developing a common civilisation. Men of the type of Lord Sydenham can never understand these facts,—for they have no opportunity to observe the life led by our people in their towns and villages and homes. Let them study the works of an English lady like Sister Nivedita ; and they will learn the truth from one who came to India not to advance her own aims, but to study the India of the people as it is and the lives which the people daily lead in their homes and in their social groups. We have, also, in these columns frequently pointed out that, as there are conventions even in England with regard to dining and marriage ; so we have, in our caste system, something like the Indian equivalent for the social conventions of the West in regard to these matters. As the conventions of the West change in course of time, so caste changes in course of time and adjusts itself to the changing environment. These explanations ought to convince all right-minded people that the question of the fitness of India for self-government is to be settled by other considerations than those mentioned by Lord Sydenham and other champions of the policy of exploitation, and is fully covered by the considerations advanced by the Pandit-President in the extract above given from his great oration.

We pass on to a *fourth* point of importance. Our enemies want to ruin our cause by stating that India demands self-government as the price of her war services and sacrifices, and that she is unable to feel that sentiment of loyalty to the British throne and empire which binds the Dominions and Colonies to the United Kingdom.

The Pandit-President of the Congress disposes of this cruel calumny in the most forcible manner at the very commencement of the address. He says:—"India had many grievances against England when the War broke out but she had not lost faith in the Briton's love of justice and liberty......India loyally put aside her grievances, buried her differences and her Princes and people readily identified themselves with the cause which England had taken up, because it was the cause of righteousness and liberty. Both our national traditions and our national aspirations pre-disposed us to that attitude......All classes and communities of our people enthusiastically united in giving an assurance of unswerving loyalty and unflinching support to His Majesty the King-Emperor in the prosecution of the War to a successful end." This extract puts the truth clearly snd completely before the thinking world, and it must silence all selfish and unscrupulous detractors who wish to deny freedom to India on the ground that she does not share the sentiment of loyalty to the British throne, constitution and Empire. Our hopes for the future are bound up with the maintenance and development of the Empire. Indians take as much pride in its power and growth as any of the self-governing Dominious and Colonies, and we demand self-government in order to take the place that is our due among the latter so that we, too, may share in its fortunes and glories and in the fulfilment of its future destiny. Let us also not fail to note how the Pandit-President spoke in regard to the proposals that are being matured for constituting a League of Nations to usher forth a new era of peace and good-will among the communities of the world,—for his words give a timely indication of the spirit that animates the minds and hearts of the Indian people. He said:—"I am sure, my countrymen, that you, who are the inheritors of great spiritual civilisations, most heartily and reverently welcome these proposals and that you will be willing to undergo any sacrifices to give them your cordial support ......We may assure them (the Powers forming the Peace Conference) that thousands of our young men will gladly and gratefully enrol as soldiers of God in any international organisation that may be formed to support the proposed League of Nations." Let those who conspire to attribute to Indians the mercantile spirit which negotiates for freedom in the spirit of bargaining beware that the charge now turns back on them with redoubled force,—for it is they who want to deny us freedom in order that they may continue to make India the dumping-ground for their manufactures and the chosen field for gaining the emoluments and perquisites of high office and bureaucratic employments.

Lastly, as regards the Rowlatt Committee's Report, the Pandit-President rightly denounced those calumniators who "have been misusing the Report to create a wrong impression in the minds of the British public that the people of India are disaffected towards the British Crown." The Pandit continued:—"This is a wicked attempt. One should have thought that with the overwhelming proof of the loyalty of the people of India to the British Crown not even the worst detractors of Indians would make such an attempt at this juncture making a case against the loyalty of the Indian

people." At the same time the Pandit did not fail to state clearly how much he deplored that the young anarchists of Bengal should have been led, under "a movement of perverted religion and equally perverted patriotism" into bringing into existence "any criminal organisation of conspiracy against Government." He also did not fail to warn our enemies as follows:—"Let not the misdeeds of a small number of misguided youths be pitted against the unswerving loyalty of 320 millions of the people of India."

The resolutions passed at the Congress were in full accord with the noble and inspiring lead given to it by its great President. All who wanted to adopt a halting and uninspiring programme failed to gain acceptance, though they did gain a hearing, at the national assembly. The echoes of the great gathering will reverberate all over the land. We are sure that, within a short period, the demand of the united people will be wafted across the oceans and be dinned into the ears of the democracy of Great Britain. Then the British Parliament and Ministry will have their own part to play, and we feel sure that, in that final act of the drama, the utterances of the great Pandit-President and the resolutions of the Congress passed in accordance with his inspiring lead will be of the utmost value in leading to the final denouement and shaping the destiny of the India that is to be.

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Notes and Comments.

The War has already begun to influence the religious conceptions and beliefs of Western men. The new religion is to be a religion of faith in human nature, not of faith in God; and it is to be based on reason and not on revelation. All metaphysical conceptions are to be discarded, and the search is to be for "a divinely human ideal." The method to be adopted for reaching that ideal is the strict subordination of all individual needs and inclinations to a new moral code which is to aim at the general good.

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The statement given above is sure to make the mouths of many of our *novi homines* water, and make them pant breathlessly for the knowledge of the quarter whence the new religion has proceeded to raise the world and make it happy after all. This eager curiosity for what is a new creed or religion of humanity, this eager welcome and satisfaction which is assured for it is due to the fact that the Western education which is given to our young-men in Schools and Colleges has made them impatient of all ritual and devotional exercises as mere waste of time and energy, and of all methods of introspective meditation as involving at least a temporary retirement from those worldly occupations and interests which secure gains of various kinds which are pleasing to the human heart.

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It is natural that the new religion of faith in human nature should take its rise in France, where, as has been remarked, "patriotism is a religion and a passion," owing to the tremendous need which arose in consequence of the overwhelming onward rush of the brutal forces of German aggression and destruction over its fields and cities and villages. Miss Petre to whose article in the October number of *The Nineteenth Century and After* we are indebted for our information regarding the new religious tendencies in Europe explains how natural it is that when "thousands of Frenchmen and thousands of French families were sacrificing their

individual lives and welfare to the safety and well-being of their country, it is not surprising that the wider human religion of the future is grounded on a very profound sentiment of patriotism." After this we may be sure that, when the new League of Nations is established and has ensured the peace of Europe for a century or even one-half that period, the future thinker and prophet in France will proceed to found another religion which will be in consonance with the circumstances and feelings of the time. But this is only by the way.

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M. Loisy is the author of the new religion of faith in human nature,—a religion which, as Miss Petre assures us, "offers us a highly spiritual and severely exacting ideal." No wonder, for it is in our duty and service to humanity that the new ideal is to lie. In the older religions, too, having a metaphysical basis, this aspect of duty was the most exacting and brought out the spirituality in man and made it exhibit itself in visible external forms. But spirituality itself was something different and concerned the inner development and enlightenment of the individual soul. In M. Loisy's new creed of faith in human nature, all duty is to centre round "the coming of a humanity that shall be one, holy, universal continuous, a true church of the spirit." It is this future humanity that takes the place of God or the perfectly blessed soul all-pervading and illuminating all, and hence spirituality is something to be achieved and realised in the outward world, and hence "severely exacting,"—for every one has to be most concerned with what does not concern him at all, whether now or in any conceivable future.

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What is the intellectual basis and rationale of this creed? M. Loisy explains it as follows:—"To humanity, to our country, to our community, to our family, to our ancestors, to our contemporaries, we owe, more truly than we can say, all that we are, and all the spiritual and material goods we enjoy. It is in and by that humanity that we exist and live and move. To this humanity which, very truly, has created and recreates us, which sustains and recreates us, we owe the service of all we do and all we can do." "She (humanity) is the eternal mother from whom we come, on whom we depend, to whom we belong" "This is the basis of duty, this it always was since men began; this it will remain as long as humanity endures." We see clearly that there is nothing in all this beyond this world, nothing metaphysical, nothing of myth also. Auguste Comte, the French philosopher that was, once gifted the world with a religion of humanity founded on a "positive" basis. Here is another religion of humanity, equally positive,—a religion, however, that is to be ever growing and changing, according, to the needs and circumstances of the world.

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M. Loisy may be all right in France, or in Europe. But in India, men everywhere will be inclined to question and know from him,—what is man, or humanity? How can man be said to be created by "humanity?" Humanity means, we suppose, human nature consisting of certain qualities and the material substance in which they inhere. The latter cannot create, for it is not intelligent. Among the former, one is intelligence. But if intelligence is only a quality, it is also not intelligent and requires a knower to guide it. If therefore, human nature, before it can act requires a knower to set it to work, evidently it cannot create man. Does *humanity* mean *the human community*? Then what is meant by the statement that the community *creates* man? But who creates the community? It is men who form the community; and it is the action of a leader or leaders who produce the communal feeling which is needed for their organisation as a community. So, then, men create the community, also. We are, thus, drawn into a circle, and must therefore regard the new religion as unsatisfactory.

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The average European mind, however scientific, cannot rise beyond the theory of sexual selection as the explanation of the evolution of humanity,—whether it takes

the form of Darwin's theory or that of Weismann's or Mendel's. The unsatisfactory nature of these theories has been frequently pointed out, and hence Loisy's new religion of humanity which is based on evolution by sexual selection can never be regarded as satisfactory by the Indian mind. Miss Petre seems to us to suggest that M. Loisy merely indulges in a verbal jugglery when she writes of him as follows:—"He believes religion to be an essential constituent of human life, without which it loses all its highest meaning. Nor is this religion to be any mere form of scientific belief and morals; as faith was an element of all religions that have ever been, so must it be an element of all that are to be." What can the new God or creator—Humanity—do, if one is devoid of this faith and the duty which springs from faith? What is to prevent all from being similarly devoid of faith? In the case of the Aryan system, karma forms a sufficient answer, an answer which is not available to European religion in any form, traditional or modern. M. Loisy's "effort to attain a new human synthesis" fails, therefore, quite as much as any of those which have preceded it in Europe.

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M. Loisy's work, in its negative and critical portion, is as effective as his constructive analysis of religion is ineffective and unphilosophical. He says:—"Christianity offers no other proof than her affirmation of things in themselves undemonstrable, such as the revelation of God in the Jewish religion and the writings of the Old Testament: the Divine Mission and resurrection of Jesus or the manifestation of God in history; the permanent action of the Holy Spirit or the manifestation of God in the Church." "Once these postulates were seriously disturbed by the philosophical or historical criticism, which resulted from the general direction of the modern thought and life, the crisis of religious belief began...If there is any one fact attested it is that the simple explanation which religions endeavoured to give of the world and of life never withstood examination."—Similarly, M. Loisy says of the ethics of Christianity as a system:—"If those laws set themselves forth as perfectable systems of social organisation and human discipline, it would only be necessary to amend them when some defect was observed. But as they also claim a character of finality, each new ideal denounces its predecessor as an offspring of barbarism and vice."

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Hinduism—the pure religion of the Vedanta—is not a historical religion founded by a person, divine or other. Our cosmogonies can all be defended at least on the basis of analogies established in human experience,—even if we discard the personages who are connected with them as mythical. As for the traditions contained in the Puranas, they only furnish the basis of the popular side of Hinduism. From the philosophical aspect, the Puranas are only *Upa-brimhanas* of the Vedas,—and so are aids to a comprehension of their true import. Even if modern criticism shows them to be mixed up with mythical elements, the fundamentals of Hinduism as contained in the Veda and the Vedanta and elucidated by the Itihasas and Puranas will always remain established as on an impregnable rock on which the waves of human emotion and opposition will dash themselves in vain.

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M. Loisy's work, especially in its critical aspect, seems to be a valuable one, and it is to be hoped that some enterprising English firm will soon bring out a translation of it into English and render it accessible to Indian students of religion. On its constructive side, no Hindu can object to any rational system of ethics; and we have seen that M. Loisy's speculations on humanity and a system of human faith will only provoke surprise and astonishment as mere solemn ineptitudes which can have little influence on the substance of a Hindu's faith in this life or on the destiny which awaits him in the future.

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The Reform Scheme and* Social Legislation.

[BY S. MAHALINGA AIYAR.]

The introduction of the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel's Hindu Marriage (Validity) Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council furnishes an occasion for examining the prospects of social legislation in the new Councils that may be called into existence by the passing of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. In the discussion in the Council that followed the introduction of the Bill on the 5th September last, the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee,—who, by the way, defined politics as "the science of opportunists"—was of opinion that, if the Hon'ble mover of the Bill wanted the Bill to be passed, the wisest course would be to withdraw it and bring it before the new reformed council. He apparently thinks that with the coming of the reforms, a free and wide opportunity will arise for the passing of many measures of legislation that are dear to the social reformer's heart. The Hon'ble Messrs. Sarma and Sastri were also inclined to agree with Mr. Bannerjee's view. So it becomes a matter of concern to orthodox Hindus to see how the authors of the Reform scheme have dealt with the question of social legislation and its prospects, in the reformed councils.

Referring to the possible effects of the reforms, the authors of the Reform report say in para 152. "An autocratic administration which does not share the religious ideas of the people, obviously finds its sole safe ground in leaving the whole department of traditional social usage severely alone. In such matters as child marriage it is possible that, through excess of caution proper to the regime under which it works, it may be actually perpetuating and stereotyping customs which the better mind of India might be brought, after the necessary period of struggle, to modify. A Government in which Indians themselves participate, invigorated by a closer touch with a more enlightened popular opinion, may be able, with all due caution, to effect with the free assent or acquiescence of the Indians themselves, what under the present system has to be rigorously set aside." Again, in justifying the precedure prescribed for the legislation of certificated and non-certificated business in the Indian Legislative Council the following passage occurs in para 281 of the Report—" It will, we believe, be found to be not the least advantage of the institutions which we propose, that by allowing questions to be freely discussed, first in a popular assembly and then reviewed by a revising body in which Government is in a position to exert as little influence as it likes, *the course of social legislation to which our Indian advisers attach particular importance will be materially promoted.*"

As the law stands at present measures affecting the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of His Majesty's subjects in India cannot be introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council by any member without the previous sanction of the Governor-General; nor can the local legislature of any province make or take into consideration any law similarly affecting the religion or the religious rites and usages of any class of His Majesty's Indian subjects except with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. Then there is the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, by which the reigning sovereign and his agents, the central and local Governments in India, are bound to observe the strictest neutrality in all matters pertaining to the religious and social usages of the people of India. The disregard of the policy and the pledge that have so far governed the attitude of the Government towards religious and social matters will result in disastrous consequences. Do the authors of the Reform scheme contemplate that under the new regime the old policy will be dropped and the sovereign's pledge forgotten? Will the representatives of the so-called "better mind" of India be freely permitted to tinker with the social and religious institutions of the Hindus and Mahomedans in any way that may suit their new-fangled notions and fluctuating fancies? It is a great pity that the framers of the Report have not devoted greater attention to all the aspects of this matter and made their intentions clearer. As it is,

the position has been made rather perilous. Perhaps Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy have been misled as to the real attitude of the people at large on this question. If they had reminded themselves, and considered the significance, of the tremendous opposition that Mr. Basu's Civil Marriage Bill and Mr. V. S. Sastri's Post-puberty Marriage Bill evoked in the country in recent years, they would have realised that their Indian advisers who "attach particular importance" to social legislation (Report, para 281) form a very small minority who have no sympathy with, and stand apart from the real currents of the religious and social life of the mass of the people, though, as circumstances stand at present, they are able to gain the ear of Government and produce a wholly disproportionate impression as to their strength and representative character.

In the Congress-League Scheme of reforms there was the provision of a clause which prohibited the consideration by the Legislative Councils of any measure brought forward by any non-official member, which might specially affect the Hindus or Mahomedans as such, if it was opposed by a three-fourths majority of the Hindu or Mahomedan members of the Council respectively. No such, safeguard is provided in the new reform proposals. It is a serious omission which has to be rectified. Ill-advised measures of legislation which may affect the religious and social usages of the people may endanger the peace and tranquillity of the country; and any mistakes that may occur in this sphere will be disastrous and irremediable. Therefore, applying the principles laid down in para 238 of the Report, legislation affecting social and religious matters should be included in the reserved sphere of legislation, so far as the provinces are concerned:- that is, it should not be given a place in the list of transferred subjects that are to be made over to the ministers in the provinces. And in the Indian Legislative Council the procedure prescribed for "certificated" business in paras 279 and 280 of the Report should be made applicable to measures of social legislation. It behoves all orthodox Hindus to press for some such modification of the Reform scheme as has been indicated above. Otherwise, there is great danger of the silent abrogation of a time-honoured pledge and the clean sweeping away of a historic policy, so as to leave the religious and social institutions of the Hindus to the tender mercies of de-Hinduised Hindus.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme—A Constructive Criticism.

(BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.)

III.

Herbert Spencer speaks of a French King who, "wishing to consult some historical work, called to his librarian; 'bring me my liar.'" But though history as ordinarily written contains a deal of falsehood, concious or unconscious, a far more serious charge against it is, that it mainly records the deeds, or rather misdeeds, of glorified swindlers, brigands, marauders and murderers. One, especially a foreigner, reading the history of pre-British India, would, with fair show of reason, conclude its Government to have been despotism of the worst type. But, paradoxical as the statement may appear, if we are not to be misled by names, I am inclined to think, that the autocracy of the present Indian Government by a nation that professes to be one of the most liberty-loving on the earth is much more pervasive and destructive of real freedom than Moslem Rule during any period of its history. The truth is, that with despotism at the Capital, there prevailed a democratic form of Government which even an Aurangazeb could not think of killing. The basic principle of Self-Government, that of self-determination, was observed to an extent unparallelled by anything India has had under British Rule. The people were, as a rule, left to work out their own salvation in their own way; and, as a result, the Mahomedan period was not the period of darkness and misrule, which readers of ordinary history take it to be. It was during that period, that those great movements of social, religious and ethical reform took place compared to which

those we have had since the commencement of British Rule pale into insignificance. It was also during that period, that the people developed their vernacular literatures which still continue to delight, instruct and enlighten them, and which, so far as the multitude is concerned, have not been superseded as yet.

Another paradox. The autocracy of British rule is due, at least partially, to the British desire to "civilize" or Westernize our people. They must be educated, medicated, hygiened and what not in the British way and under British control. They are such savages that they can not be trusted with fire-arms, except under the strictest control, lest they should turn them against one another. They cannot be trusted to dispense justice among themselves, construct their roads and public edifices, measure their lands, or even manage their village chowkidars, except under British supervision. No wonder, that treated systematically as children they are becoming as helpless, timid and devoid of initiative as children. As is well observed by Major Evan Bell: "The natives of India, of every caste and creed, are men of like powers and passions with ourselves; and in obedience to universal law —as true in social science as in physiology— the healthy development of their civilization cannot proceed without space and range for the exercise of all their faculties. Too much constraint, too much assistance, however benevolently intended, will but distort the phenomena of progress, disturb its steady course, and drive the stream into dangerous channel."

The economic result of the "civilizing" or Westernizing process has, as I have shown elsewhere* been as disastrous as the moral. The Westernizing is not done in an unselfish way. It tends to fill the pockets of the "civilizers" and swell the economic drain from the country and thus contribute to its impoverishment. So many Indians Westernized means so many objects of foreign exploitation, commercial and otherwise.

I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that there is not the shadow of a chance of real Self government in India until this "civilizing" idea is abandoned. The idea of "civilising" our people under compulsion, though generally indirect, by a nation as alien in culture, ideals, institutions, customs and practices as the British, is so preposterous, that the wonder is it should have been entertained so long and should have found so many advocates even among my own countrymen!

The first step towards Self-government should be the restoration of the democratic form of village Self-government which obtained in India in pre British times, and which left the people to manage their education, sanitation, public works, and village police, and administer justice among themselves to a large extent, in their own way.

Another primary aim of Indian political reform should be the amelioration of the material condition of the people. The principal way in which it could be effected is by economy and retrenchment, by the adaptation of the machinery of administration to the means of the people with a view to the lightening of their load of taxation.

The objections which I have urged here and in my previous pamphlets* against the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme may be thus briefly summed up:—

1. Instead of bettering the economic condition of the people, the scheme is likely to make it far worse.

2. Instead of strengthening the bonds of Indian nation-hood, it is calculated to add to the strength of the forces which during the last half century have been operating to weaken them.

3. It introduces the *form* of Western Democracy without its *substance*, its evils (with the additional one of communal representation) without the good which compensates for them.

4. It makes self-government dependent upon developments and contingencies in the future, and upon the results of training and of examinations in which the teachers and examiners cannot be reasonably expected to be altogether free from their bias in favour of Western culture and Western institutions, and from the bias of self-interest and of patriotism.

* "Survival of Hindu Civilization, part I, The impoverishment of India and its Remedy."

* "The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme," and "The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, and Indian Nation-hood."

If the principles I have been contending for be admitted, it would not be at all difficult to formulate a scheme of political reform much less complicated, much more conducive to the good of the people, much better suited to Indian conditions, and much less contingent upon future developments than the one we have been considering. By way of suggestion, I reproduce (with some additions and alterations) the bare outlines of one for the first stage of self government which I gave a year ago in an open letter to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India entitled "Give the people back their own."

1. Every large village, or a group of two or more villages, when they are small, should have its Council elected by the adult male villagers assembled at public meeting.

2. Each sub division is to be divided into a number of circles, and there should be a council at the headquarters of the circle consisting of representatives elected by the village councils within it (not nessarily from among themselves) who should meet periodically to discuss and adopt measures for the common wants of the entire circle.

3 The District Board would consist of representatives elected by the circle councils and the Municipalities within the district (not necessarily from among themselves).

4. The Presidents of the village and circle councils and of the Municipalities and District Boards should, in every case, be elected.

5. Each District Board would have the right to send a representative to the Provincial Council, and each such Council to send a certain number of representatives to the Imperial Council.

6. There should be no sectional representation —no electorates for the representation of the different sections of the community, on the village or higher councils, except in the case of the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils in regard to commercial and industrial interests.

7. Sanitation and Education other than higher scientific education and technical education based upon it are to be placed under the entire control of the District, Circle and Village Councils.

8. There should be Boards of Examiners appointed by Government who would institute and supervise competitive examinations for the recruitment of the various departments of the State.

9. (*a*) There should either be simultaneous examination for the recruitment of the higher grades of all the services (the Civil Service, the Police &c. &c.), in England and in India, or, if that be not practicable a scheme be prepared for their Indianisation to the extent of at least sixty per cent within two or three decades.

b The pay and pension of these grades should be fixed according to the economic conditions obtaining in India and not, as at present, in England.

10. The proceeding of the different bodies from the District Board downward are to be conducted, and their records are to be kept in the vernaculars.

11. The village Police is to be entirely under the orders and supervision of the village Council.

12. In regard to petty civil and criminal cases resort to the village council should be compulsory and not voluntary.

13. No lawyers of any description should be permitted to practise in the village courts.

14. The District Board would supervise the work of the circle of the village councils. Besides, there should be a State Department of Local Self-government in every province with an officer at its head who is to be chosen by the elected members of the Provincial Council. He is to supervise the working of the District Boards and of the Circle and Village Councils, advise them when necessary, and have their accounts audited by auditors under him.

15. A moiety of the cesses realized from villages should be given to the village councils, and a moiety to the district and circle councils. Besides, some such items of revenue realised from the dtstrict as excise and stamp revenue should be ear-marked for the expenditure of the district boards and circle councils.

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ADHYAYA II.

(continued.)

मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
आगमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥ १४ ॥

The contacts of the senses with the outer world O son of Kunti, give us the sensations of pain and pleasure through cold and heat etc., but their nature is one of ceaseless flux and they are hence impermanent. Endure them with fortitude, O Bharata.

NOTES:

1. This is an answer to Arjuna's implied question as to why even in the case of one who knows that the soul is beyond birth and death there is the feeling of the *Dwandvas* (dualities) of life like heat and cold, pain and pleasure, etc. The Lord replies that these are ever-changing and impermanent and will cease to overthrow our self-poised equilibrum when we bear them with fortitude.

2. The impermanent and the permanent can never be really connected with each other. Hence the impermanent sense-contacts can never affect the soul. Nilakanta says tersely and well : सत्यमिथ्यावस्तुनोर्वास्तवसंबन्धायोगात् । The reason why the soul feels pain or pleasure is its illusion of identity with a particular condition of mind or body. That is the reason why the pains and pleasures of the waking world are not carried into the dream-world as they would be if they were of the stuff of our being.

3. Madhusoodana says well that the doubt of Arjuna dispelled by this verse is as follows. Verse 13 showed that the soul is eternal. But the soul must be different in each body because the pleasures and pain of men differ. Each soul must have its own separate pains and pleasures though it is eternal. Hence the death of Bhishma and others will cause pain to me though I am eternal. If this were not the case and each man's pleasures and pains were not peculiar to himself there would be confusion of joys and griefs (सुखदुःखादिसंकर) The answer is that the contacts of the senses with the world give rise to sensations of heat and cold and pain and pleasure in the mind and that these sensations are not of the nature of the soul. Why so? Because the soul is eternal and the sensations are ephemeral. There cannot be a relation of धर्मि and धर्म among them because Dharmi and Dharma are one. न हि नित्यस्यानित्यधर्माश्रयत्वं संभवति, धर्मधर्मिणोरभेदात्संबन्धान्तरानुपपत्तेः । Also, the separateness of the soul and the sense-contacts is clear from the fact that the subject and the object cannot be identical. साक्ष्यस्य साक्षिधर्मत्वानुपपत्तेश्च ।

4. Sri Sankaracharya points out another aspect of variability in sense contacts besides their transcience. Heat gives us pleasure in winter but pain in summer. The touch of ice gives pleasure in summer but pain in winter.

5. Heat and cold are mentioned as typical and illustrative of all pains and pleasures classified as आध्यात्मिक, आधिभौतिक, and आधिदैविक

6. Thus the more we realise our oneness with the Permanent and Eternal Self the less are we affected by the ephemeral flux of life and its ever-born and ever-dying pains and pleasures. Hence Arjuna is told not to grieve for the pain caused by his apprehended separation from his kinsmen by the cruel hand of death in battle.

7. Thus the psychological analysis of sensuous pleasure and pain leads us straight to the truth of things. In sleep pain and pleasure disappear. The thing that causes pain or pleasure in the waking world disappears and makes room for mind-born pains and pleasures of the dreamland. The beggar of the waking world may be an emperor in dreams. The same object may give pain or pleasure. Fire in our house or friend's house causes pain, in a stranger's house indifference, and in an enemy's house pleasure. The sole cause is अभिमान by which the soul identifies itself with the mind which is the seat of pain and pleasure,

8. Sri Madhwacharya makes the verse yield a new richness of meaning by taking the first half of the stanza to have a note of interrogation. Do the sense-contacts alone cause pain or pleasure? No. They are impermanent. *Abhimana* is the important cause. It can be given up while sense-contacts cannot be.

7. Some commentators interpret मात्राः as meaning the sense. Others interpret it as sound etc. The main idea is the same in any view.

(*To be continued.*)

Olla Podrida.

At Poona a great battle was fought over Patel's bill. The combatants fought first in a public hall and then at Mr. Tilak's house. Each side made the meeting convened by the other side a ridiculous failure. The pro-Patels ignore all these exhibitions of resolute opposition and claim that the country is for the bill. Calcutta mustered strong against the bill. It is to be hoped that the country will express itself in no uncertain voice against the bill. The pro-Patels seek to impress the Government by demonstrations and declamations. The anti-Patels have hence to follow suit. But that is the way of the modern world.

* * *

Professor Arthur Keith has written strongly about "the national garden of manhood." This is just the conceptiou which was implied in the idea of Dharma and which is now becoming increasingly conspicuous by its absence.

* * *

The *Servant of India* has waxed wrath at the opposition to Mr. Patel's Bill and made the opposition a handle to cry down the political movement. But these are days when servants are masters. So we have no right to complain.

* * *

The great sensation of the day is the British Election. A turn of the Kaleidoscope of British political life brings about strange results. Lloyd George is now riding at the head of a motley crowd. Do they follow him or do they drive him forward? Who knows? Many a leader in the world is merely the foam on the top of a wave which bears it onward though it seems to ride on the crest of the wave. Mr. Asquith is out of Parliament leaving Asquithians inside it disconsolate and leaderless. Labour has been a mountain in labour and has brought forth a mouse. Henderson, Macdonald, and others are left to survey the Houses of Parliament from a safe distance. Let us wait and see what the new Parliament is going to do.

* * *

In India the Congress has sat and dispersed. The chief fact about it is that the extremists of today become the moderates of tomorrow. But what about the extremists of tomorrow now applauded and adored? We shall wait and see.

* * *

The ladies have won all along the line in the world. The 21st century will record as the world-war not the German war but the war of the sexes. In India full franchise was granted to women by the Indian National Congress.

* * *

The Conference season has come and gone. Delhi has survived the deluge. One sensible resolution passed at the Hindu Conference was that the Germans should restore to India the valuable Sanscrit manuscripts taken (some people will call the action by another name) from India by them. We hope that when the Germans disgorge their ill gotten gains this will be attended to.

* * *

But why have nations this mania of taking the world's best things and putting them into their own capitals. Racial psychology is a subject to be investigated hereafter. So we shall not hazard opinions now about this intricate matter.

* * *

There are three announcements to be noted in connection with the New Year. A child was mauled at the Madras Zoo by a lion. At the Madras Park Fair a child was crushed to death in a stampede following an involuntary illumination on a large scale. By the bye why was not the big

bonfire accepted as a portion of the fire-works? It was also a firework? But men have no reason. They object to big fires and love small fires. A Roman Catholic First Grade College is to be established at Madras.

* * *

I have the pleasure of wishing my readers a Happy New Year and I hope that the New Year will be quite as funny as the last year.

SCRUTATOR.

Gleanings.

The Inter-Caste Marriage Bill.

Only the grossly perverse mind can decry the numerous public meetings that are being held in all parts of the country to protest against Mr. Patel's Bill as being machine-made. The Hindu community has been deeply stirred. To the supporters of the Bill, we ask, how many or how few individuals will be benefited by the Bill if it is to become an Act? What proportion do they bear to the whole Hindu community? If the number is *infinitesimal*, well, where was the necessity of throwing Hindu society into the vortex of another agitation? Again, have not the individuals who are said to suffer due to there being no inter caste marriage law, a cure for their sufferings in the shape of the Civil Marriage Act? The proposed Bill, we are told, is only a permissive Bill. But where is the guarantee that it will not prove to be the thin end of the edge? Where is the guarantee that it will not be the prelude to another member "springing on the country a Bill to sanction bigamy, another to legalise divorce—a third to countenance marriage for limited periods, a fourth to authorise marriages between first cousins?" Rightly did also the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga observe at the protest meeting held in Calcutta that "marriage for the Hindus has a spiritual more than a worldly significance" And that the passing of the Bill will "desecrate Hindu marriage and roll it down from the high pedestal it now occupies to the level of the commonplace."

The Hindu Patriot.

* * *

The All India Sanatan Dharma Conference of Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Benares was this year celebrated in Delhi along with the Anniversary of its provincial organisation—the Indraprasth Dharma Mandal on the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1918, under the esteemed Presidentship of the Hon. Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, member of the Imperial Legislative Council. The Conference had its own spacious pandal in Queen's Garden and was a complete representative gathering of the orthodox Hindus who joined it from all parts of the country. The resolution opposing Mr. Patel's Bill was one of the most important one. It was carried and passed unanimously by an audience of more than 6000 persons. Eminent persons like the Hon'ble Lala Sukbir Singh, Swamy Dayanand, Pandit Dindayal Sharma, Lala Murari Lal of the Punjab Mandal, Brahmachari Seetal Prasad of Surat, Dr. Paras Ram, Pandit Deo Ratan Sharma, Secretary of the All India Hindu Sabha, Pandit Girdhar Sharma of Jaipur, Thakur Bir Singh, A. D. C. to the Maharaja of Kashmeer and many other eminent leaders delivered their speeches in opposition of the Bill.

Correspondence.

Mr. Patel's Bill and Political reform.

Sir,

You have rightly and freely opened your invaluable columns to discussing this important question of intercaste marriage among the Hindus. Several have written supporting the Bill in question while many others opposing it in all dailies and periodicals. Who are those that support it? There are three classes of them, misguided political reformers, prejudiced non-Brahmins and the so-called social reformers. We will deal here with the first class of persons and show their mistake in believing that caste system stands in the way of political progress of the country.

In discussing Indian Reforms in the House of Lords, the Earl of Donoughmore said: "Caste certainly bars association for eating together, drinking together, marrying together. It is a social bar but it is not a business bar. There is nothing to prevent various castes associating for the purpose of business or politics." Commenting on Dr. P. C. Ray's address at the All India Social Conference held last at Calcutta, the Amrita Bazaar Patrika rightly observed: Hindu caste is not really such a rigid and inflexible thing as superficial students and ignorant foreigners usually take it to be...... We want political equality and not social communion. We wonder if the leaders of the school of social reform which Dr. Ray represents would admit their own domestic servants to perfect equality with them in their social relations....... Social communion and political rights stand upon different platforms: and no one who had a clear conception of what right in law and constitution is, would confuse them like

what Dr. Ray has doneand by implication encourages or enable the Anglo Indian press to trot this out as an argument against the establishment of responsible governments in the country."

Again we are glad to note that the Bill was attacked even in the Council by the Hon. Pandit Madhan Mohan Malavya, Hon. Mr. K. V. Rengaswami Ayyangar, Hon. Mr. Sukul and others. Further the world-wide famous leader Mr. Bala-Gangadhar Tilak's paper 'Kesari' is continuously opposing the Bill and rightly defends the Hindu cause, though the 'Servant of India' feels sorry for the same. No one can deny the fact that these eminent leaders and unflinching patriots have sacrificed their whole lives at the altar of their Motherland, to get political regeneration for her. When once they have opposed, it is really a matter of great surprise why misconception still prevails in some quarters and the Bill is supported on the ground of political unity of the country.

Further in the West, which is said to be civilised and politically advanced such a system of caste prevails. A European writer, speaking of societies in England, says "Everywhere in England we find first, second and third class. They stand wide apart-farther in England than in any country in the world. Nowhere is there such pride of rank and riches, such exclusion, such inhumanity. The noble and the wealthy—those we call the gentry—may be kind, gracious, affable and condescending: but affability and condescension are in themselves the assertion of a rigid caste distinction. The members of the different social ranks cannot sit together, eat together, be educated together, nor even confess themselves miserable sinners together. The children of the three social grades seldom intermingle...... The lady who marries even a man of genius born in a lower rank than her seldom recovers her social position."

In concluding, the object of this short note is that it is a base lie to say and think that caste retards in any way the political advancement of the nation. India is essentially a democratic country with its caste system. The glorious social system that has saved us from foreign onslaughts and made us preserve our distinctive individuality should not be lost. If intercaste marriages are facilitated, our culture and civilisation would tend to vanish and then we cannot speak of "India." as a separate cultural entity.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.

Several years ago, at the funeral of a well-known official much detested by his staff, it was remarked that an unexpectedly large number of them attended.

On one of them being asked for an explanation, he said: "We wouldn't have missed it on any account; we want to be sure that he is buried."

* * *

The conjugal dispute waxed loud and furious. Mrs. Blank said, "Yes, yes; it was so!" and Mr. Blank said, "Pooh, pooh! It was not so!"

In the end came tears. Then Mrs. Blank fell to reproaches.

"I was reading one of your old letters, James, only to-day," she sobbed, "aad you said in it that you would rather live in endless torment with me than in bliss by yourself."

"Well," grunted Blank, "I got my wish."

New Year's Greetings.

By T. K. SATAKOPACHARYA.

[A prose-poem sketch of the text of a reverie constituting the wake-up thoughts of a wanderer's vision.]

Peace! O thou sweet souled star gleaming on-high in morn's grey, serene!
Well may self-gathered Muse mine, of prophet-mind, rejoice on birth thine!
And well may world's people, with gaze, expectant, at Life's Elixir held aloft,
Rise in rapturous joy, radiant with hopes ahead, afar, o'er thy sun-like face!
Earth's eminent architects engrossed in rearing the Temple, magnificent, for Peace, divine!
Skilled veterans, O ye! Quench the ghastly war-flame, as stranger to mercy, spreading.
Duty thine, immortal it's inaugurating era, unique, of world-wide, self-less good;
All else run counter God's eternal purpose animating nations, small and great.
Arduous efforts of races and classes, abroad, individualistic or communal though, avail but little
If laggard body lame beneath Soul, with life and love, all be flung for Gold;
So, set to work, Men-gods O! guided by the lovely Light of Heaven's Grace,
For Parliament represented well of heaving Humanity, whole, out of a federative world.
Centuries may pass in scores maturing into ages, long, of features clear;
Broad-based ideals, many, may throng the arena of Time weaving woof of endless plan;
To whom but Thee, can mortals, we, God ours! fly escaping grasp of secular ills?
In Thee, our faith, hope, love repose for enthroning Soul-strength o'er brute-force.
Exultant India, Imperial, ever-known to plenitude of Peace, perennial, transcendent of mortal vision.
Courts fellow-ship with freedom-loving brethren, western, theirs, in fraternal bonds of chivalric grace,
In victory of peace as in war, proud of gloried past, yearning for future, felicitous.
May the year dawning afresh herald future, fair, with long life of joyous sunshine, full, for thee and thine!

Wit and Wisdom.

Debt is a curious thing, the more we *contract* it the more it furiously expands and *counter*-acts.

***

Your *concubine* will prove a veritable *porcupine* in your poverty for it is *her lot* to be a *harlot* for ever preferring hard cash to her soft flesh.

***

He who has the largest "means" will be the "meanest" man, for how *pensive* he looks in his *expensive* occasions.

***

A good-looking glass portrays our outward fashions and a good-looking lass betrays our inward passions.

***

Matrimony has of late become a *matter* of *money* and rightly so for love is a *dear* affair.

***

Wedlock is a padlock and bridal is a bridle and they are indeed *high men* who bear the pangs and bonds of *Hymen*.

***

The very alphabet teaches politeness and humility for "I" must come only after "E" (ye) and "U" must come before "V" (we)!

***

Any person envious of *me* is my *Enemy!* He is your enemy who would not *admire* your good quality but *add mire* to your name.

***

A *sincere* man is such because he is a *sin seer*.

***

Patience is so called because it will *pay* one when he *shuns* nothing in haste.

***

Anger may make you stronger for the moment but the longer you keep it the more langour you are subject to afterwards.

***

That man is truly "GREAT" who has these qualities:—**G**odliness, **R**everence for elders, **E**arnestness in all undertakings, **A**ffability towards equals, and **T**olerance towards inferiors; *Grey* hair alone is not the *test* of the *greatest* man.

Echoes of Ancient India.

The world is the shadow of the soul,

***

Truth when witty is the wittiest of all things.

***

He is the greatest teacher in whose mind the distinction between the teacher and the taught has no place. For in the plane of absolute truth the teacher and the taught are both one and the same.

***

The best offering a disciple can give to his Guru is a mind purified by the four sadhanas.

***

Every mystery is the germ of a duty. Every duty has its motive in a mystery.

***

A little management may often evade resistance, which a vast force might vainly strive to overcome.

***

Nothing is further than Earth from Heaven: nothing is nearer than Heaven to Earth.

***

The great misfortune of the present age is, that one can't stand on one's feet, without calling to mind that one is not standing on one's head.

***

As a lamp does not burn without oil, so a man cannot live without God.

***

If a man sees a pleader he naturally thinks of cases and causes; similarly, on seeing a pious devotee, the man remembers his God and the hereafter.

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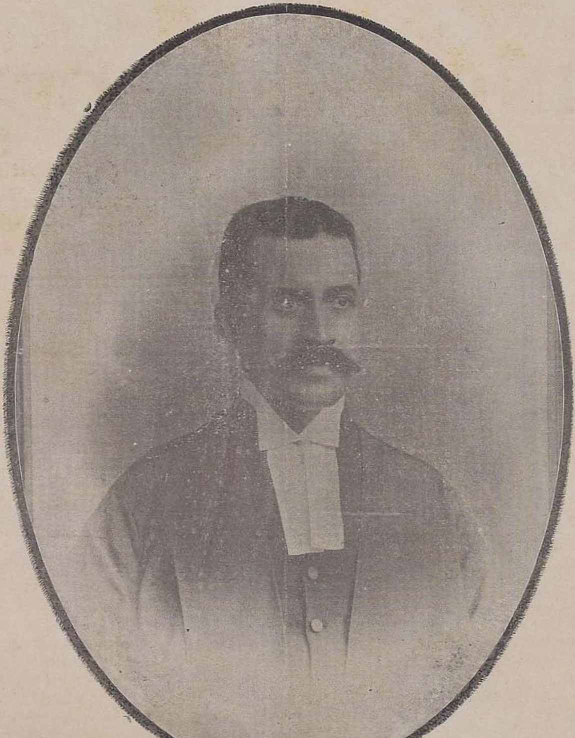

The Right Honourable
SIR SATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA Kt., K. C., P. C.,
Under-Secretary of State for India.